2: MacDonald S-4 (no date) 1946 EK1 Austria EK1

in the party). And the fighting in Vienna in 1927, which, partly owing to the drastic measures taken to repress the rioters by Seipel's Government, resulted in thousands of people leaving the Church, and deflected episcopal policy decidedly to the right. Seipel, for his part, turned to the anti-working-class big industrialists for support against what he conceived to be the danger *par excellence*. The hostile attitude of the Church towards the Schober Block at the November elections of 1930 occasioned much scandal.[1]

It would, however, probably be a mistake to regard the Church as the villain of the piece even after 1927. It continued to evince great interest in social problems.[2] And although the higher clergy, and perhaps the majority of the lower clergy, regarded the *Heimwehr* movement with favour, as being a useful weapon for curbing socialist influence, they could not be very enthusiastic about a movement so deeply tinged with Nazi anti-clericalism.[3]

Although it is true that in the two main groups, the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists, the balance of power tended to pass to the extreme wings, other important groups existed who were much more moderate in their outlook, and who stood unequivocally for democratic government. The *Landbund*, for instance, an organization supported chiefly by the more wealthy peasants led by Herr Winkler, inveighed constantly against the fascist proclivities of the Christian Socialists and the *Heimwehr*. Even in 1929, when it supported a reorganization of the state on a corporative basis, hoping thereby to secure a better representation of agricultural interests, its members emphasized the fact that the movement

[1] *Stellungnahme zu den österreichischen Nationalratswahlen*, 9 November 1930, 26 October 1930. (See Knoll, op. cit., pp. 167–77.)

[2] Lent Pastoral Letter, 1928, inveighing against low wages of women and bad housing. *Fasten Hirtenbrief der Erzbischöfe u. Bischöfe Österreichs*, 1928. (Knoll, op. cit., pp. 150–3.)

[3] In January 1930 a declaration was issued declaring that the Church could not consecrate the flags of political parties—'Politischen Vereinen ist mit Rücksicht auf die überparteiliche Stellung der Kirche die Weihe der Fahnen nicht zu bewilligen'.

See also the Lent Pastoral Letter, February 1932, issued by all the Bishops, warning the people against the Nazis.